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ONE MORE ANNIVERSARY

by dr Aleš BEBLER

A MEETING of twelve communist and workers parties was held in Moscow a year ago. A declaration of these parties was also adopted on that occasion.

Another consultation of the communist parties this time with a slightly different composition, was held several months latter in March 1958, and the decision reached to begin the publication of a review entitled „Problems of Peace and Socialism“ so that three numbers of this periodical have already seen the light of day.

Today, on the first anniversary of the Moscow Declaration which was invested with the character of a programme by its authors, in the light of the spirit of the document and its implementation, it may be affirmed without the slightest hesitation that

one of its fundamental objectives consists in the denunciation of Yugoslav revisionism as the foremost danger for the international labour movement and socialism. This is also testified by the above mentioned review, the child of the Declaration.

It is generally known in what way the struggle against the „greatest danger“ is being waged. It is also known to what degree this struggle is devoid of all principle, and that by many of its features it is extremely reminiscent of the policy pursued by the same parties and governments against Yugoslavia in 1948 and after. It is known that for many participants in this campaign the truth on the Yugoslav reality and foreign policy is a matter of minor importance and that the component parts of this struggle inclu-

de also economic discrimination and even territorial aspirations. All this we know.

It is well worth asking a question of decisive importance on this anniversary, namely, what is the relationship between the objective set by such an anti-Yugoslav policy with regard to this country and the objective most heavily emphasised by the very same Moscow Declaration to which absolute priority is assigned even in the title of the review, namely the aim of peace.

The contradiction between these two objectives is obvious. The policy of pressure against a small country and the concerted pressure of a whole group of countries big and small alike at that, cannot strengthen but only undermine the peace. Such a policy is creating tension, unease and fear a-

mong others who are not directly concerned. It is also provoking mistrust towards the exponents of such a pressure policy.

Such a contradiction is by no means incidental, however, nor is it a result of a thoughtless practice in which tendencies contrary to the concept of the initiators would be spontaneously manifested. On the contrary. It is the extremely logical outcome of a contradiction inherent in the fundamental conception of the authors of the Declaration and its authoritative commentators.

It is the contradiction between bloc policy and the policy of peaceful co-existence.

At the present time and in the situation created by post-war development when speaking of bloc policy we do not refer of course to the existence of blocs, the interconnection of the countries belonging to the same bloc. This is an accomplished fact which no statesman whatever, however well — intentioned can alter. We are speaking of bloc policy in the sense of an orientation towards bloc division of the world as an inevitable, natural and logical result of the existence of different social systems, as a phenomenon which can only disappear if the division of the world according to social systems is done away with.

Such a policy is contradictory to the policy of peaceful co-existence.

This contradiction is not resolved by the text of the Moscow Declaration, or to be more precise, no attempt is being made to resolve it. Both elements — the proclamation of a policy of peaceful co-existence and the proclamation of purely bloc tendencies, such as manifested in the attack on Yugoslavia — have been placed side by side in the Declaration.

The review goes a step further. In its first issue it published an extensive leading article on the problems of peace.

The article also contains the statement that it would be a mistake to reduce the struggle for socialism to the struggle for peace, — that „by its struggle for socialism the workers class is creating the conditions for the complete removal of the causes of war“ and that these cannot be removed „without the building of socialism in the whole world“.

The contradiction has been resolved at least in words: the struggle for

socialism is not reduced to the struggle for peace but the struggle for peace is reduced to the struggle for socialism. And as the struggle for socialism is waged primarily through the struggle of the socialist camp against the opposing camp, the struggle for peace is also reduced to the same common denominator.

Under the circumstances, what remains of the principle of peaceful co-existence. On what platform will the forces which are not consciously socialist, but democratic and peace-loving assemble in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of the peace? By what means and in which way will the non-peaceful forces be isolated and paralysed?

— The forces of peace, all the forces of peace can only be rallied on the platform of active and peaceful co-existence of countries irrespectively of the differences of their internal systems. This is the only platform which coincides with the democratic principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and a free internal development, and which corresponds to the

democratic principles of noninterference, and the nonimposition of ones will on others. This is the only platform — with particular stress on the need of activity — which corresponds to the needs of all mankind, and will assure that all disputes be settled in a peaceful manner and not by means of pressure and threats.

The struggle for socialism cannot be reduced to the struggle for peace. It comprises also the endeavours for social progress in the sense of socialist development. But neither can the struggle for peace be reduced to the struggle for socialism without doing fatal harm to the cause of socialism and peace, because in that case the front of peace would be narrowed to the front of socialism and thus isolate the socialist from the other peace-loving forces.

Bloc struggle, whether waged in the name of socialism or in the name of peace, cannot lead a step further to socialism or peace. It can only eternalize the present bloc division and international tension and thus become a permanent obstacle to human progress.

Comments

The Work of the Thirteenth Meeting of the General Assembly of the UN

by S. MALIĆ

UP TO NOW the work of this year's meeting of the General Assembly has reflected to a certain extent the present international political situation, which is characterized by a long list of open problems but no signs of a speedy solution of any of them, while there have been no great changes in the attitude of some countries. In general, the smooth course of the Assembly's work — at this stage in committees — has not been interrupted by any unusual event, which is indeed to be welcomed. On the other hand, however, its course has not been interrupted either by any events of value — important solutions — which might lead to a speedy and favourable development regarding some of the many important open questions before this year's meeting.

The political committee started its work with a relatively long discussion on

the order in which questions relating to disarmament should be considered. But this beginning has not pointed the way to any useful development.

A month of discussion and voting on various questions in the field of disarmament resulted in the acceptance of four resolutions, at the beginning of November.

The first resolution to be passed by the Committee was one put forward by the United States, Great Britain and fifteen other countries. This resolution demanded, among other things, that nuclear explosions should be stopped for the duration of the Geneva talks, and its proposers called for priority voting on it. Agreement was reached after determined attempts by the Yugoslav and Indian delegations to find a compromise formula between the Soviet insistence that the resolution should call for an immediate and permanent ces-

sation of nuclear experiments, and the American insistence that it should last only for the duration of the Geneva talks.

The Yugoslav-Indian efforts did not bear fruit, as the Great Powers showed no signs of being ready to change their present standpoints. The Western Powers even clung to their method of outvoting, though it is clear to all that outvoting as a method for solving the problems of disarmament is not generally acceptable or constructive.

The Yugoslav and Indian delegations received wide acknowledgment for their persistent and constructive attempts to find a compromise formula acceptable to the majority of countries, including both Western and Eastern delegations.

The Assembly accepted two resolutions expressing hope for the success of the forthcoming talks in Geneva. One of them, which was put forward by Austria, Japan and Sweden, expressed hope for the success of the talks on the stopping of nuclear experiments. In the other, which was put forward by Yugoslavia and India, the hope was expressed that in the forthcoming talks on the problem of preventing surprise attacks the highest possible level of agreement would be reached.

The fourth resolution accepted by the Assembly referred to the setting up of a United Nations Commission on disarmament, made up of all the member-countries. In proposing this draft resolution, India and Yugoslavia no doubt had in mind above all the cul-de-sac in which last year's Commission, made up of twenty-five members, found itself immediately after its setting up at the Twelfth Assembly Meeting, and the necessity of leaving the concrete solution of disarmament problems once more in the hands of the United Nations.

It was formally made possible, by setting up such a Commission, for questions of disarmament to be treated by various organs of the United Nations. It is still an open question whether this will be done by the Commission as a whole body, or if smaller groups will be established. It is clear, however, that the first danger of obstructing this Commission again will appear in the discussion of matters of procedure concerning this question. The problem of even composition in such smaller groups within the framework of the Commission might again obstruct any concrete work on disarmament. No doubt the Great Powers and the 'non-bloc' countries are conscious of this, just as the proposers of the resolution for a Commission composed of all members were, and it must be hoped that all those interested will make great efforts to avoid such obstruction.

A Commission composed of all members of the United Nations might be able to present a convenient formula for overcoming difficulties in parity, which the West has opposed and still opposes although it is quite conscious that its opposition cannot be justified. The Western Powers have,

in practice, accepted even composition. Last summer they took part in such a conference (of even composition) in Geneva, and now a conference is also being held in Geneva between equal numbers of East and West countries.

Returning the solution of concrete aspects of the disarmament problems to the framework of the United Nations gives all the smaller countries an opportunity to make stronger and more active efforts to solve this central problem of present-day international relations. The role of such countries at this moment is assuming still more importance, as we are at present in a period of stagnation. The small countries must exert still greater efforts to assist the Great Powers in finding a new way to solve the Problem of disarmament, a way which would enable it to take place as soon as possible.

In view of the current talks which are taking place in Geneva on stopping experiments, and their uncertain outcome, it has become urgent to summon the newly formed Commission on disarmament. The worsening of the situation, that is, the speeding up of the armaments race, is illustrated clearly enough by the fact that experimental nuclear explosions are made today in the world at a hitherto unknown intensity. Such a rise in the number of explosions and the rejoining of the once-broken vicious circle, with all the harmful results which nuclear explosions have and may have in the future, demand a general increase of efforts by all countries, so that further undesirable developments may be prevented. The United Nations has once more created a favourable framework by forming a new Commission of all its members. Such a favourable opportunity, or any other one, must not be missed, as disarmament in today's conditions is in the interest of all countries, in spite of the fact that some of them still do not grasp this.

In a Special political Committee the study of the question of a permanent United Nations force has been completed, and it is evident that the idea of forming a permanent United Nations force has been postponed. The Western powers, which had insisted on the forming of such a permanent force, saw in time the unpopularity of the idea and the lack of confidence felt in it by the smaller countries.

From the very beginning it has been considered by the majority of countries useful to create United Nations forces for concrete needs, for some particular situation, with the agreement of the country on whose territory the force would be carrying out a limited function, as was the case with the force in Egypt (UNEF). This year's meeting again expressed its approval of UNEF. The setting up of a force on a permanent basis is quite a different matter, however. An attempt to create such a force in the present international situation could not be regarded as desirable, as its formation would tend to make the existing international situation even worse, that is, it would definitely have a contrary effect to the one intended.

In the Committee for economic questions it was decided to form a special United Nations fund to give technical and other aid to underdeveloped countries. This fund will begin work on the 1st January, 1959. Its formation represents an important stage in the evolution of United Nations activity in giving financial aid for economic development to the underdeveloped countries. Though the function of this fund will be limited at present to giving technical assistance, there is the possibility that it may in future develop further, and become a fund for the financing of great units of economic development, as was foreseen in the preliminary talks on the formation of SUNFED.

To our Readers

THE EDITORS OF THE "REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS" KINDLY REQUEST OUR READERS TO SEND THEIR OBSERVATIONS, WISHES AND OBJECTIONS CONCERNING THE GENERAL CONCEPTION OF THE REVIEW, THE AMOUNT OF SPACE ALLOTTED TO THE INDIVIDUAL COLUMNS AND SUBJECTS ESPECIALLY THOSE RELATING TO THE YUGOSLAV REALITY, THE TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUAL SUBJECT AND QUALITY OF THE ARTICLES, STYLE, LANGUAGE ETC., TO THE EDITORIAL OFFICE, BEOGRAD, JOVANOVA 16. THE EDITORS THANK THE READERS IN ADVANCE FOR THE VALUABLE ASSISTANCE THUS EXTENDED.

European Integrations and Disintegrations

by Nenad POPOVIĆ

MUCH as the European area was characterized also before by a large number of states or national economies, Europe had still represented — not only compared to the rest of the world, but viewed by itself — a certain fairly definite whole. Although a considerable part of Europe was manifestly backward economically even at the beginning of this century, Europe had still represented the bulwark of the industrialized world.

Today the conditions have been completely changed. After the last war substantial changes were witnessed, and are still witnessed, in Europe which, in their turn, are determinant of yet other new features. The crucial point in all this is that Europe is divided politically and that the countries of Eastern Europe, increasingly separated as a special entirety, appear on the one side, while the remaining countries, within which narrower or wider integrating movements are proceeding, characterizing in their turn and in their own way that particular part of Europe, appear on the other side.

In the Eastern part the foundations have been laid and the processes inaugurated of building new and different economic systems, their orientation in this phase being toward economic development and the elimination of an inherited economic backwardness and the elimination of an inherited economic backwardness. Given the relative absence there not only of the capital necessary for development, but, and particularly, of a duly wide base in the production capacities and a due structure, the problem of development — always in conditions of a relative isolation from the rest of the world — has had to be solved by relying almost exclusively on own resources and possibilities. While this cannot be said to have retarded economic development, it definitely has made its marked impression upon the scheme of distribution of the national income, and especially upon the structure of production and consumption. Just this last, that is, the structure of production and consumption, represents today an important, nay, essential element in the aspiration to promote economic connections by way of a more comprehensive and more diversified exchange of commodities with the whole rest of the world, and notably with Europe.

In the rest of Europe the fundamental economic situation since the war has been different. Here the production plants already were existent — true, fairly obsolete and considerably damaged as the result of war — but the economies had been dislocated by the disparities appearing between the over-all production and consumption. This became manifest in strong inflationary pressures and, in some cases, marked dislocations even.

It is important to remember that such a generally serious economic situation the countries of Western Europe was not being dealt with in the so-classical fashion of establishing an equilibrium and stability through appropriate deflationary measures and policies whereby an equilibrium would be achieved at an inferior level of demand or consumption. On the contrary, although here, too, exceptions occur, one might say that the line pursued has rather borne on a very strong increase of supply or production. This quest for economic stability at a superior level of production naturally had to be pursued through simultaneous and abundant investments and

the maintenance of a high level of consumption. Overall, this has afforded to the economies of Western Europe not only a strong economic expansion and full employment, but has brought a simultaneous and substantial rise in the standard of living. Because of this, the past period may be described not only as a time of prosperity and relatively full employment, but a time of very strong progress. Simultaneously the economic capacities had been enlarged and modernized.

Already during the course of these processes the unsolved and inherited problems began to manifest themselves in an increasing measure. First of all, there is the fact that the narrow and relatively small national markets could no longer carry on their shoulders the modern and swelling production capacities. Modern production, namely, to be economical, must simultaneously be a mass production. Only then are its production costs optimum, and such a production is the protagonist of progress.

This has become a problem of large current, and even essential, interest where integration is concerned. Even though in the countries of Western Europe these processes became inaugurated and self-asserted prevalently through integrated markets and, accordingly, integrated payments, they are nevertheless being translated into the main domain as well, that of integrated production, that is to say, the creation of a new, different and entirely specific structural relationship of international division of labour within the framework of the countries of Western Europe.

All these processes, especially in the initial stage, have been productive of considerable successes, and also creative of fresh problems at the same time. Some of them — for Europe at least — have not been painful, yet they foreshadowed serious strains, viewed in world proportions. This includes, for example, the phenomenon that intra-European trade has developed considerably quicker than has production (which is not bad) and that it has parallelly, and specifically, separated itself from the remaining world markets (which admittedly is a matter of very grave concern).

Besides, the various integration processes had begun to affirm their special logic, too, which is best seen today, when various rhythms' forms and contents of these integrating processes and movements in the countries of Western Europe are threatening to split even those countries themselves. This has manifested itself just now through the problems arising between the Joint Market of six countries (Italy, France, Western Germany, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg) and the remaining countries of Western Europe which, otherwise, are incorporated in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. Certainly it is not merely a theoretical or formal question whether the Joint Market will go its own way or whether a European Free Trade Zone will develop in its stead (or, possibly, in spite of it and with it).

As is seen, the picture of Europe which previously consisted of only a large number of countries and national economies maily divided into those more and less developed, has become today more complicated and supplemented by divisions into more general groups, which implies more than just a division into an Eastern and a Western part.

The past integrating movements in Europe, whether Eastern or Western, have also proceeded through apposite regional organizational forms. In the West these include the OEEC and „Little Europe“, and in the East the adoption of fundamental common lines and principles in the matter of planning and the organization for mutual assistance which otherwise is better known as SEV.

However, there have been no forms or organizations which would have worked toward seeking out the necessary and useful mutual connections between these two parts of Europe. That function has mainly been left to bilateral proceedings between the individual countries, in so far as they managed to make the appropriate agreements. The most has in fact been done by this bilateral method, especially since the time when long-term trade agreements began to be applied by the countries of Eastern Europe on a more intensive and comprehensive scale. Today, essentially speaking, trade between Eastern and Western Europe is proceeding not prevalently, but exclusively within that framework which had been created by bilateral agreements, and these last are not only annual, but frequently multiannual.

This bilateral practice, although being decisive and essential basically, has nevertheless been unable to eliminate the need for some more general solutions. Such a more general form had been sought in the UN Economic Commission for Europe. However, and this will sound paradoxical in the future particularly, just this approach of the problem of a general European community, by way of the widest and most-accepted international organization ever, has run into considerable difficulties.

These difficulties are not of an economic character, but manifestly political. Viewed from an economic angle, such an economic co-operation, and particularly the increased mutual exchanges, could have struck everyone from the very outset as only mutually beneficial, which was as clear at the beginning as it is today. Discounting the significance which the creation of an adequate economic base would have for the further strengthening and improvement of political relations.

Treatment of this whole question in the UN Economic Commission for Europe had come face to face at the very start with the fact that not all countries of Europe were members of the United Nations Organization, and by that token not of the Economic Commission itself either. The time it took to settle that question! And once settled, then it became absolutely impossible to deal with the problem integrally, or to arrive at any practical results. It is needless to recall the arguments employed by both sides (without reciprocal conviction), accompanied by a successful postponement of the main and fundamental problems. Here one gains the impression that it is not the difference in systems that had precluded results from being achieved, nor the difference in economic policies (because these were identical basically, i. e., economic expansion, full employment and development), but that the basic difficulty was constituted by the ever-present lack of mutual confidence. Integrally speaking, such a situation prevails even today. Everything is practically dealt with through bilateral relations and through practical solutions as dictated by the economies and life.

Even though it has proved impossible to reach some essential solutions on an integral scale, this still does not mean that the work and function of the Economic Commission for Europe in this domain has not yielded positive and, one might say, even very positive results. That body has not become merely an organ in which all European countries without distinction sit at the same table to find a solution of the questions on their agenda. It is far more significant that numerous contacts are realized there inspiring an increasing feeling that not a few problems and questions occur which are of a common moment.

It is specially pertinent to point out the significant fact that the Economic Commission for Europe, and especially its

Committee on Trade, has dealt with a very large number of concrete and individual questions. Nothing has been done on some questions but those on which frank opinions have been expressed from a considerably larger number, which has made for an incomparably better mutual acquaintanceship than ever before. Notwithstanding the fact that both ones and the others are living on the same Continent and are interconnected by countless other links, a marked feature today still is a mutual non-acquaintanceship. For this very reason, the work of the Economic Commission for Europe, especially its Committee on Trade, is very beneficial.

Lastly, one must not overlook that signal concrete results, also, have been recorded in this work. This includes, for example, the successes marked through the system of reciprocal voluntary and periodic compensations of credit and debit balances. Among other things, it is also pertinent to indicate the very useful institution of mutual consultations serving to maintain direct connections and a bilateral exchange of opinions; such consultations taking place once a year, over and above the existing mixed commissions from bilateral agreements.

Likewise it is necessary to underline the existence of a large number of various technical and other questions which are constantly examined, and frequently settled, and that the Committee on Trade has become a standing organ and form, it not of concrete co-operation in trade then definitely of a better mutual acquaintanceship and understanding.

This year's regular autumn session of the Committee on Trade was concluded recently in Geneva. The results were not spectacular but they cannot be entirely disregarded either. Especially noteworthy has been a larger conciliatory spirit (and, quite definitely, a spirit of lesser antagonism) than has been the case before.

There is another point to be added here. Just the recent times, the past year in fact, reveal how beneficial mutual trading has proved. Western Europe has to admit that one part of its difficulties this year have been if not mitigated then definitely postponed also by virtue of her trade with the countries of Eastern Europe. On the other hand, this year's experience of the countries in the East indicates the favourable effect on them, and especially on the expansion of their current production, of the more comprehensive and more diversified structure of exchanges with the countries of Western Europe.

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Arab League Policy

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AT THIS juncture of the League of Arab States' reinforcement, after the rise of the Iraqi Republic, the de facto end of Bagdad's participation in the Bagdad Pact and the membership of the two independent Arab States of Maghreb (Morocco and Tunisia), world opinion is becoming more concerned about the development, value and importance of the Arab League policy on the international field.

To build strength in the political power of the Arab League by adopting one unified Arab policy in the international affairs is our main concern in this article. In this respect, it could be stated that the Arab League international policy is centered around three main issues:

(a) to reinforce relations with the Afro-Asian states and (b) to exact an independent policy free from Western influence, especially that of Britain, and (c) to follow a neutral course in the cold war between the West and Soviet Russia.

RELATIONS WITH AFRO-ASIAN GROUP

THE ROLE of the Arab League in building the Afro-Asian group within the United Nations, in the time the Palestinian question and the Indonesian question were attracting the attention of both Moslem and Asiatic nations, cannot be ignored. These two questions marked the beginning of closer relations between the Arabs and other Asiatic and African States. Their collaboration began as an "Arab-Asian Group" composed of the Arab States, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and the Formosa Government. Thereafter this collective power has steadily increased to become the "Afro-Asian" group.

The importance of the group or block of states to the Arab League appears in the fact that while a number of its members are members of the British Commonwealth, yet they do not follow a unified policy with other nations of the Commonwealth. In fact they generally operated together with other Afro-Asian and Arab countries in the solution of international disputes.

As to what extent the Arab League has adopted itself to this amorphous group of states in order to implement and strengthen its policy of neutrality in the cold war, it might be sufficient to state the following resolution of the Council of the Arab League taken on January 21st 1954. The resolution requests the Arab states to reinforce the links between them and the Afro-Asian Block states, following the recommendations of the Political Committee of the Council:

a — The Arab states should strengthen their diplomatic representation with the states of the Afro-Asian Block.

b — They should exchange political delegation with a view of consolidating the ties of friendship and co-operation in the political domain, beside consolidating cultural and economic relations.

c — The Secretariat-General should study all means necessary for consolidating relations between states of the Arab League and the Afro-Asian Block, including the formation of periodical meetings of a high standard.

d — The Committee holds that it should adopt this same attitude towards states of Latin America".

BRITAIN as the major Western power in the Arab World has assisted in the set up of the Arab League in order to meet the force of Arab Nationalism midway by the common action of friendly regimes, on the one hand, and on the other hand to drop the Israel baby into the lap of a quasi-dependent League. By this means, it was held, Britain could keep the Arabs and Jews in constant fear of each other in order that they would constantly call upon her for help; thus a Balance of Powers could be maintained and the Pax Britannica would prevail.

However, the League under Egyptian leadership disappointed Great Britain. It was contended by Britain that the League should play the game in Palestine against the Zionists and leave the question of the complete freedom and independence of its countries until the first task could be carried out.

In this regard an article signed A. D. in *World Today*, May, 1951 states the following: "The Arab states had two major political issues before them when the League was formed: the first was to retain Palestine or as much of Palestine as possible, against the Zionists; the second was to complete the freedom of the member-states still partially tied to Britain.

Syria and the Lebanon had recently become independent of the French. The logical course for the Arab states was to let the second task await. The successful fulfilment of the first — in other words, to get Britain to strengthen them and rely on them, so that they would themselves be militarily and politically stronger in the struggle against Zionism. This was not the aim of Egypt, which had exploited the separatist tendencies of three other Arab states to establish her own domination of the League through its Charter. Egypt intended to use the League to help her to fulfil her national aspirations. From that point onwards the policy of the League was a paradox. It desired to defeat the Jews in Palestine. It needed the political and military aid of Britain. Yet Egypt was using the League to combat Britain. The League was therefore asking Britain to help her to defeat Britain; to strengthen the League in order to weaken Britain's position in the Middle East".

However, early on June 11th 1946, Egypt managed to convince the Council of the League to issue a resolution condemning the British stand on the Egyptian question. Thereafter, the League, in general, continued to wage a campaign against Britain whether in regard to the Egyptian question or to any similar question, as well as against France in North Africa.

It goes without saying that since that time, from its very beginning, the League lost the sympathy of the West. The League was frequently denounced by Britain and France, as well as by Soviet Union which always charged it as being a British puppet.¹

Actually the question of friendly relations between the League Member States and the Western or Soviet Blocks is

1 M. Melekhov, *L'Angleterre et La Ligue Arabe*, an article in *Pravda* reprinted in *La Documentation Française*, articles et documents.

of a twofold nature, in the sense that the Arabs judge how far such relations will help Israel and assist in subjecting the area to power politics.

THE TRIPARTITE DECLARATION

FOLLOWING that course, the League Member States adopted a common stand vis à vis the Tripartite Declaration, issued by Britain, France and the United States on May 25th 1950, with the asserted purpose of maintaining the law in the area and preventing any violation of peace between the Arabs and Israel. On more than one occasion the Arab League States made it quite clear to the Western powers that in their view this Declaration unilateral, giving rise to no contractual obligations and giving the three Powers no rights of interference. It is also thought that the implementation of this Declaration is to give Big Powers a chance to push nineteenth century power politics from time to time, in the area. Recently, on October 31st 1956 the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt, in collusion with Israel, had shown (a) the hypocritical manner the two Western Big Powers had used in justifying their ill-advised action in standing by the Tripartite Declaration; (b) how far the self-styled policeman was himself the law breaker; (c) confirmed the Arab conviction that the West has established Israel as a bridge over which it can cross to the Arab World under any circumstances. Moreover, this ill-fated aggression had its main result in inviting the active hostility of the Arab World and uniting their stand in a policy of „positive neutrality“ which is not in accord with the interests of the West.

POSITIVE NEUTRALITY

THE ARAB view towards neutralism between Moscow and the West is not as difficult to understand as might be imagined. It is plain that each of them would do as the Prophet Mohammed advised to do in his saying: „A true believer is never stung twice from one scorpion hole“.

The Arab World stood with the West in two World Wars, but the outcome of this alliance was the continuous suffering of the Arabs; the division and occupation of their countries by Western powers, the establishment of Israel and the bitter resentment caused by the expulsion of a million Arabs from Palestine, etc.

In a letter to *The Times* on November 29th 1956. Mr R. R. Stokes, member of the House of Commons states the following: „The vote on the Palestine partition proposal was to have been taken by the General Assembly on November 27th 1947. By that time all nations had declared the way they intended to vote and it became apparent that the necessary two thirds majority in favour of partition would not be forthcoming. So the vote was put off for two days and taken on November 29th. In the meantime Liberia, the Philippines

and Haiti, all of whom had declared their intention to vote against partition, were suborned by the United States and told if they did not vote in favour of partition they could expect no more help from the United States. When on November 29th the vote was taken they voted in favour of partition despite their previous declaration. That is why the Arabs always consider that Israel was formed by a swindle“.

These are some, if not all, of the reasons why the Arabs have attempted to withdraw from the West an adopt a policy which they call one of „positive neutrality“. That is to say, that the stated policy of the bulk of the Arab League states, especially the UAR, the Republic of Iraq and Yemen, is to maintain a cautious neutrality in the Cold War between the big conflicting powers.

What still injures the Arab feelings is the manner in which the West regards their countries. They note with regret that the West, in its relations with them, is only endeavouring to defend its own interests, oil interests or the inclusion of a clear invitation to them to join a specific camp of military arrangement, thus subsequently turning them against the Soviet Union and creating an atmosphere of misunderstanding between her and the Arabs, in a time when all philosophies and convictions can live together in co-existence.

Moreover, the Arabs maintain that their dwelling in mid-land, mid-sea and mid-air is creating a new role for their Moslem ideology wherein it will be midway between Western imperialism and Soviet communism. They are firmly convinced, as ex-President Kuwatli of Syria has declared, that their adoption of a policy of neutralism has prevented the aggression against Egypt from becoming a global war.² Therefore, they look with caution and concern towards any policy which if established would resemble an official announcement of a declaration of a cold war in the Arab World, — subjecting their countries more than ever to big-powers strategy and interests.

Thus they hold that if there is any vacuum in the area as declared by the Eisenhower doctrine, it should be filled only by Arab Unity and strength, equipped with their mid-way ideology, helped by economic development and stabilized by a just solution of their complex problems.

In addition it should be stated that the Arab World is not a potential Soviet advance base, but believes in their Islamic faith and Arab Nationalism and Unity.

With this reservation, we attempt to show what we consider to be the fundamental and traditional elements of assurance that the possibility of sovietization of the Arab World is unlikely to be realized. The staunch determination of the Arabs to preserve, protect and reinforce their independence from any foreign power, proves to discard any idea of voluntary submission to any sort of domination, which is unlikely and inconceivable.

² *The Times*, January 16, 1957.

The Cyprus Problem again before the UN

by Ljubivoje AČIMOVIC

UNFORTUNATELY the world of today is not lacking in unsolved international issues which to a greater or lesser extent impair and obstruct normal relations between countries and threaten the peace in one way or other. Although not an immediate peril to world peace, the Cyprus dispute is doubtless the oldest and most long-standing of all such issues. Contempla-

ted in its essence, namely the liberation of the inhabitants of the island from alien rule, the problem is over 750 years old as the conquest of and foreign rule on Cyprus began already at the end of the XII century. In its present form the dispute dates eighty years back since the time Turkey delivered the island to the British in 1878. During the post war period also, ever since the

end of World War II, Cyprus remained permanently on the list of unsolved international problems, while the need for a settlement became increasingly obvious since 1950 when the well-known plebiscite was carried out on Cyprus under the leadership of Archbishop Makarios (January 15th 1950): on that occasion the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Cyprus (215,108 of the total 22,747 participants in the plebiscite) declared themselves in favour of union with Greece, while a copy of the report on the plebiscite was sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations, thus enlisting the new world organization, — one of whose basic principles consists in the right to self-determination, — in the settlement of this problem.

At any rate, one thing is obvious, namely too much time has been wasted and that the accomplishment of a final settlement for this dispute, primarily from the standpoint of the interests of the people of Cyprus has become an urgent need all the more so as the abolishment of the colonial system has become an inevitable reality today especially when a people with so high a level of civilization and culture as the inhabitants of Cyprus are in question. Finally the right of peoples to self-determination has been universally confirmed the United Nations being due to assure its full application.

The post-war phase in the development of the Cyprus problem was both tumultuous and varied, but failed to produce any results. This period is marked by numerous initiatives and negotiations in which not only the representatives of the parties directly concerned, but also of other countries took part. There were also many démarches of the UN. On the other hand, the selfless struggle of the people of Cyprus of the fulfillment of their rights, notwithstanding great sacrifices, retaliatory measures, police persecutions, internal conflict, the disorganization of normal life etc., gave a special imprint to this period. The intransigent attitude of Great Britain in its refusal to accept the principle of self-determination as the basis for a settlement, the involving of Turkey and her extreme claims in this dispute, the tense and complicated international situation and the assigning of priority by the blocs to the military and strategic significance of Cyprus over the national interests of its people have prevented a settlement to be reached on this Mediterranean Island which is, in the long run, a victim of its geographical position, located as it is on the approaches to the highly susceptible and restless Near East. Under such conditions the United Nations have also failed to make any notable contribution to the positive solution of this issue.

At the beginning of this summer, the problem of Cyprus entered a new stage which almost marks the culmination in its post war development. The beginning of this phase was marked by the drawing up of the so-called Foot namely Macmillan Plan, which the British Government proposed as a basis for the solution of the Cyprus problem to the parties concerned at the middle of June this year. Parallel with its publication the British Government made known its firm resolve to implement this plan in practice. The two essential features of this, the fifth British variant for the solution of the dispute should be as follows: the introduction of Turkey in the administration of the island (with the

possibility of the subsequent division of the island between Greece and Turkey) and the temporary character of the solution proposed for a period of seven years, without any reference whatever to the final fate of the island, especially with regard to the fulfillment of the right to self-determination.

The principal points of the British plan were as follows: the establishment of a Governors Council which would include the representatives of Greece and Turkey as well as six elected representatives of the people of Cyprus, the creation of two elective assemblies, one for each ethnical group which would deal with local affairs, and the election of special local self-governing organs of the Greek and Turkish population in those parts of the island where necessary. Otherwise the entire system of local self-government would be under the supreme authority of the British Governor who would also retain the exclusive jurisdiction in affairs of internal and foreign policy and military problems: apart from this, the introduction of dual citizenship was also foreseen.

The publication of this plan understandably provoked the resentment of the people of Cyprus, led to serious disorder and severe counter measures of the police, while the inciting of the Turkish masses against the Greek population led almost to the verge of civil war. A Committee for the organization of self-defence of the Greek inhabitants of Cyprus was formed on the island, while the Greek Government undertook a series of diplomatic démarches such as the submitting of the demand to the UN Secretary General to intercede in the newly created situation, then the démarche with all the members of the NATO, the letter sent to the Chairman of the Security Council by the permanent Greek delegate to the UN, as well as the passing of a Resolution in the Greek parliament protesting against the persecution of the Greek on Cyprus which was sent to the parliaments of all countries throughout the world.

The essentially intransigent attitude of the British Government and the increasingly hostile attitude of Turkey however, resulted in the continuance of this tense situation and the failure of all attempts to reach any results whatever. The deterioration of the situation in the Near East this summer is another factor which had an adverse effect on the Cyprus problem. The changes introduced into the British plan by Macmillan after his sudden trip to Ankara and Athens (abandonment of the intention to introduce dual citizenship on Cyprus and the modifications under which the Greek and Turkish representatives will not be members of the Governors Council) were no genuine improvement. Moreover, the categorical statements on the determination of the British Government to begin the implementation of this plan by October 1st, only dramatized the situation still further.

It is under such conditions that two new attempts were made, — by Archbishop Makarios and the Secretary of the NATO Paul Henri Spaak respectively — to find a way out of the present impasse.

At the end of September Archbishop Makarios made known his new proposal for the settlement of the Cyprus problem whose essence consists in giving Cyprus an independent status guaranteed by the UN, after the lapse of a period of transition during which the people

of Cyprus would be given internal self-government by the new constitution. This proposal was accepted also by the Greek Government as the basis for the solution of the present dispute. There can be no doubt that this step constitutes a great concession and sacrifice for Greece and the people of Cyprus renouncing for a moment their demand for union with Greece the basis of self-determination. The other side, however, did not demonstrate an equal degree of willingness to make concessions and was altogether less conciliatory.

The serious harm done to the relations between Greece on the one hand and Great Britain and Turkey on the other owing to the Cyprus problem, also upset relations in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which was therefore forced to intervene, in order to find a solution for this fairly complicate situation and lead to a negotiated settlement of this issue. The action of P. A. Spaak who did not spare his personal efforts in this respect, is doubtless the most significant in this context.

The plan proposed by Spaak for the solution of the problem of Cyprus had many features of a compromise for both parties concerned, and therefore opened some genuine prospects for the accomplishment of positive results. Although this plan has not yet been wholly and precisely published, some of its main premises are already known: the presidents of the assemblies of the Greek and Turkish inhabitants would be appointed associates of the Governor instead of the representatives of the Greek and Turkish Government, second, a joint assembly would be created competent for all affairs on the island except those communal, and third, the question of the future status of Cyprus would remain open. Apart from this, Spaak recommended that the application of the British plan be deferred, and that its proposals be discussed at the Conference on Cyprus planned.

Neither the Spaak Plan, nor the mediatory role of its author lead to any results however, although Greece

(according to the statement of the Greek Government on October 29th 1958) and the majority of the other NATO members indorsed Spaaks proposals. The intransigency of Great Britain and Turkey in their demands both regard to the terms for the settlement of the issue, and the conditions for the convocation of the conference proposed, have doomed this initiative to failure.

Under the circumstances it is normal that Greece should again, for the fifth time, apply to the UN General Assembly expecting it to intervene more effectively than was the case so far.

At the previous four sessions the General Assembly succeeded only once, — at the XI Session — in bringing a resolution on this problem, a resolution which was neither particularly concrete nor efficacious, as it only expressed the wish of the General Assembly „that a peaceful, democratic and equitable solution will be found in accordance with the aims and principles of the UN Charter and that talks will be reopened and continued to that end“. Even that was not accomplished at the other three sessions: at the IX Session the problem of Cyprus was placed on the agenda, but the General Assembly decided not to embark on its discussion; it was omitted from the Agenda of the X Session, while at the XII Session a resolution on the subject proposed by the Political Committee was not adopted as it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority required.

This time it is rightly expected that the General Assembly will take a more resolute step towards the solution of the Cyprus problem. It is really high time that this long standing international problem should receive an adequate solution, while the difficult situation thus created renders such a solution all the more urgent. Thus only enhances the responsibility of the General Assembly in connection with the Cyprus problem.

Fortnight in the World

Algerian Carrousel

by Gavro ALTMAN

Is there something new in connection with the Algerian problem? Are there growing chances for ending the war which has been exhausting both Algeria and France for four years now? These are questions that have been cropping up all the time since the moment when General de Gaulle decided to lift a little bit the veil of mystery from his Algerian policy by putting forward, in Constantine,

a plan for economic development of that North-African land. The events following in the wake of de Gaulle's last trip to Algeria have been so contradictory that they make it difficult to draw any definite conclusions as to those lying ahead.

It is pertinent to mention at once that all the elements of „mystery“ find themselves on the side of French policy. While it is true that the outlooks

of the leadership of the Algerian National Liberation Front, that is, the Algerian Interim Government, are undergoing a certain evolution and certain modifications, they still are clear on the whole. Undoubtedly the ALF leaders are starting from the standpoint that the French Army cannot be thrown into the Mediterranean Sea by the armed action of Algerian fighters. On the other hand, the four years of warfare have proved convincingly enough that the French are not capable, either, of an armed squaring of accounts with the Algerian liberation movement. With due regard for these facts, the ALF seeks a concerted suspension of war and a concerted tackling — which in practice means by compromise — of the Algerian problem as a whole. Since, of course, it consi-

ders realization of Algerian independence as its goal, the Interim Government has declared that recognition of this independence by the French Government constitutes not the *precondition* for opening negotiations, provided that these did not merely bear on the „military-technical“ question of cease-fire, but on the political aspects of the Algerian problem.

So, the precondition only narrows down to recognition of the status of political negotiator to the Algerian side. The President of the Interim Government, Ferhat Abbas, in rejecting de Gaulle's suggestion that the Algerian frontline fighters report to the French commanders „with a white flag“ and that the leaders of ALF go to Paris for negotiations, had cited several possibilities regarding the conduct of negotiations. One is to arrange for a meeting on neutral terrain. Recently there was also a mention of the possibility to conduct cease-fire negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations. A third variant is a meeting in Paris, subject to Ferhat Abbas being received there in the capacity of President of the Algerian Government. This, after a fashion, would be a reprise of the French-Vietnamese talks conducted in Fontainebleau after the Second World War and before the war in Indo-China, at a time when France recognized Ho Shi Minh as the spokesman of Viet-Nam.

In Paris the picture is much more vague. Stating his plan for the economic development of Algeria, Premier de Gaulle stressed that one should not pronounce himself precipitely regarding the political aspects of the problem. He did not pronounce himself that time. Such an attitude has met with a fairly favourable reception among the Algerian colonialists, in the „Committees of Public Safety“ and among their allies in Paris. Of course, not because the colonialists and ultra-colonialists might favour equation of the wages of the Algerian and French workers, the putting of a larger number of Algerians into responsible administrative posts, the erection of a wide school network and similar measures, which, practically speaking, would minimize their incomes founded upon Algerian misery, but because the French Premier's plan comprised certain elements of „integration“, and even more because they were convinced that that plan cannot be put into effect while the war went

on. French economists have advanced many arguments in favour of the assertion that the huge sum of 4,700 billion francs which was earmarked for the development of Algeria over the coming ten year period can only be ensured provided that there is a considerable cut in military expenditure, that is, the cost of war. The position of the Algerian „ultras“ is contradictory, actually. They know they are not strong enough to eternalize in Algeria the „ideal“ regimen of racial discrimination and a crying social inequality but simultaneously they had been counting that they will be strong enough to prevent every reasonable solution. If no „ultra-colonialist peace“ can be achieved, then let there be an endless war. Listening to de Gaulle in Constantine, they did not yet consider that such a strategy of theirs was in jeopardy.

However, the next step of Premier de Gaulle brought a grave shock. By issuing the order, through General Salan, to all army officers in Algeria to withdraw from political organizations and not to run for election in the forthcoming elections for Parliament, de Gaulle had launched the process of disintegration of the „Committees of Public Safety.“ Driving a wedge between the Algerian „ultras“ and their friends in the Army, he had considerably weakened the positions of the extremists integrally. That was the moment when Premier de Gaulle was applauded even by many of those who, only before the formation of his Government, had objected that he had not sufficiently clearly hedged himself off from the ultra-colonialists, from the organizers of the putsch of May 13th.

His insistence upon the need to safeguard free elections in Algeria at which it will be possible „for all tendencies to express themselves“ had been grasped by some commentators as a call to the National Liberation Front „to join the political game“, to back — even though excluded from the pre-election campaign — certain candidates who would speak in its name. It is difficult to say whether such really has been the Premier's aim but it is certain that he himself had spoken of the need to create „an Algerian political elite“, establishing thereby that those who had thus far pretended to represent Algeria in Paris — the colonialists, the rightist elements, and the „benni voui- voui“ („amen-saying“)

Moslems — were not representative. It seems that de Gaulle's formula was some sort of a middle-of-the-road line between the policy of past French governments and a direct acceptance of the Algerian liberation movement as a partner for political negotiations. This line also became manifest in the fairly vague formulation about „the gallant specificity of Algeria linked with France“ — which is neither integration in the past sense of the word, nor recognition of the right to independence, either.

Parallel with these actions of Premier de Gaulle's, there also took place some practical measures wherein, too, the new thesis about „Algerian specificity“ was apparent. When the command of the Algerian liberation army released a group of French war prisoners, the French command did likewise with Algerian war prisoners. Subsequently there was an announcement about the release of a thousand Algerians from concentration camps. That was the time (at the end of last and the beginning of this month) when optimism regarding possibilities of an early solution of the Algerian problem ran highest. Since then there has again been a recession of optimism.

The Algerian Interim Government has not only rejected de Gaulle's proposal, which it saw as a call for unconditional surrender, but it has also refused to participate in the electoral „political game.“ It declared that no conditions subsist for free elections pending suspension of hostilities and that any Algerian running for election this time will be regarded by it as a traitor. This appraisal about the inauspicious conditions under which the elections will be held did not remain isolated. The Secretary of the newly-founded Autonomous Socialist Party of France, Alain Savary, who last month announced his decision to conduct a pre-election campaign in Algeria, returned from there with the statement that the elections ought to be postponed. A similar opinion has been voiced by some other leftist and liberal politicians. At all events, no such ticket is looming yet which would comprise Algerian candidates such as could be regarded as representative.

The decision about the release of a certain number of Algerian internees was overshadowed by the treatment meted out to Ben Bela and other ALF leaders, who had the rights of political prisoners withheld from them in

French prisons. At the same time there were reports of intensified actions by French armed forces in Algeria.

It is as though the activity of the French Government in connection with the Algerian problem again has become more vague, less distinct. Actually, it is built all the time from varying, often quite contradictory acts. Today, it appears to us, one may already say that General de Gaulle has orientated himself toward seeking out a solution, realizing that it cannot be achieved by „pacifying“ actions, that is, military force. In that respect, admittedly, innovations occur in French policy, because what de Gaulle has already done thus far (acceptance of the principle of negotiations, citing „Algerian specificity,“ measures for checking the influence of ultra-colonialists, etc.) constitutes a turn compared to the policy of earlier French governments, which would have been overthrown in the National Assembly for far more modest initiatives. It is also a fact that in the conditions today the trend toward a peaceful settlement of the Algerian problem — a solution, of course, such as would bring security and minimize economic difficulties, simultaneously safeguarding, too, continued „links between Algerian and France“ — is meeting with a large support among the French public, and equally so among that simultaneously the strongest and the most influential part of French capital which is not interested for the Algerian war but is interest in the exploitation of Sahara, though. And this last is bound to be not specially intensive pending termination of the war. What makes the acts of the French Government particularly vague at this moments is a lack of preparedness to acknowledge the Algerian problem as an „international problem“, as a problem arising between Algeria and France and which has to be dealt with in accordance with that fact, taking account of the interests of both the one and the other side.

In this respect, Premier de Gaulle's proposals, on one hand, and the attitude of the leadership of the National Liberation Front, that is, the Algerian Interim Government, on the other, are still fairly removed. Obviously the French Premier is trying to solve the Algerian problem inside France, even though he practically rejects the colonialist thesis about a „French Algeria“.

The fundamental principle insisted upon by the Interim Government is recognition of the international character of the Algerian problem. During the past month, objectively speaking, the differences in views have diminished in many ways, but this difference has remained unaffected for now.

Regardless of how the elections in Algeria might go, of the measure in which Premier de Gaulle's instructions will be respected or not, one can safely say that they will not produce that partner with whom the French Premier could successfully negotiate. Indubitably, it is the representatives of France

and the representatives of „those who are fighting in Algeria,“ as Premier de Gaulle himself is calling them, who ultimately have to take their places at the table, in one way or another. Will he accept such a course? Will he be able to overcome the opposition from the right of center of French political life? Is there something more to the rumours about contacts between the representatives of the French Government and the ALF or are those just manoeuvres undertaken with an eye to the Algerian elections? The facts known thus far afford no at all more reliable ground for an answer.

The Elections in USA

R. KOZARAC

IN THE November elections the Democrats scored a triple triumph: they strengthened considerably their position in the House of Representatives and the Senate and increased their holding of State Governorships. The success of the Democrats exceeded all their post-war victories and could only be compared with the pre-war days of the New Deal.

This brilliant victory of the Democrats places President Eisenhower during his term in the White House, in the situation that he must rule in concordance with a Congress in which his party is in the minority. The ratio of the parties in the House of Representatives and the Senate from 1954 to 1958 has shown the following trend: 1954 — in the House of Representatives there were 232 Democrats and 203 Republicans; in the Senate 48 Democrats and 47 Republicans; 1956 — in the House of Representatives 235 Democrats and 200 Republicans; in the Senate 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans; 1958 — in the House of Representatives 283 Democrats and 152 Republicans; in the Senate 62 Democrats and 34 Republicans (without the representatives of Alaska).

To this illustration of the swing of the electorate over to the Democrats could be added some curiosities, whose political importance in American conditions should not be underestimated: in these elections the Democrats triumphed over the whole of the country, from Connecticut to California, rubbing out the usual division into districts which were considered traditional strongholds of one or the other side; After fully one hundred and six years a Democrat was elected as a mem-

ber of the House of Representatives in Vermont; for the first time in this century Wisconsin will be represented in the Senate by a member of the Democratic party; the previous serious Republican claimant for presidency of the USA, senator Knowland, was not elected at all; in Pennsylvania, Eisenhower's birth place, victory also fell to the Democrats, and so on. All this clearly shows that the victory of the Democrats was complete and without a single spot, if we regard the defeat of Harriman and the victory of Nelson Rockefeller in the election for Governor of the State of New York more as a „duel between millionaires“ than parties.

What are the factors which have caused the representation in the law-making bodies of the USA to swing over to the Democrats in the ratio of two to one?

1) *Internal reasons.* Among the promises which brought Eisenhower to power were also the following: to end budget deficits, to stop inflation, to cut taxes, to solve the chronic hyperproduction of agricultural products, and so on. The time which has elapsed shows that not one of these promises has been fulfilled: what is more, the era of the Eisenhower administration has been confronted by serious problems brought about by the economic recession. The drastic fall in business activity, the rise in the numbers of unemployed (last year there were more than 15 million unemployed, for shorter or longer periods, in the USA), the rise in prices, the further hyper-production in agriculture and other results of recession, have been understood by millions of voters not only as unfulfilled promises but also as indications that the Republican party is

incapable of forming the economic policy of the country.

Besides this, they have not forgotten the fact that the Republicans were also in power at the time of the Great Slump and during the post-war recession, so that during the election campaign the Republican party was given the appellation „Slump Party“. An important place in the factors which caused the swing of the electorate against the Republicans is held by the unpopular measures against Trade Union liberty and workers' rights in general, which were carried out or intended by the Eisenhower administration. The voters were also influenced by the affairs in which corruption had figured as a central question (the case of Sherman Adams), etc.

2) *External reasons:* Although in the field of foreign policy there are greater similarities in the points of view of the two parties, so that some actions of Eisenhower's cabinet have received greater support from the Democrats than the Republicans (the questions of disarmament, atomic energy, NATO, etc.), some failures in the international field have still been attributed to the Republicans. The average American cannot forgive his political and

military leaders for the fact that the USSR was the first to launch an artificial satellite which, in this field as important as it is attractive, has brought the latter a real and a propaganda success. The events in the Middle East did not confirm the hopes put in the Eisenhower doctrine, while the sterile policy regarding China, in the light of the most recent events in the Formosa Straits, were interpreted as the expression of the lack of a policy which would express most adequately the real interests of the USA. Also it could not be forgotten that the country had been very close to war at the time of events which might have had a different outcome from the actual one.

The consequences of the victory of the Democrats in the elections may not show an immediate influence, as it is almost a rule that the President co-operates with representative bodies in which the opposition has a majority. This American paradox is solved by the fact that the President's personal policy always takes precedence, so that it is almost certain that there will not be any great changes in the Eisenhower conception. However, two things are of far greater importance: first, because

of the fact that in the 1960 elections Eisenhower will not stand as a candidate the chances of the election of a Democratic president are very greatly increased; second, the political qualifications of the new members of the House of Representatives and the Senate show that this time stronger support was given to those personalities who both in the Republican and Democratic parties were the protagonists of a more liberal policy (in the Republican party the anti-worker, Taft-Knowland group had a new fiasco; in the Democratic party the North improved its position, which increased the possibility of opposing the racial policy of the South).

As regards the immediate results of the electoral victory of the Democrats it is generally considered that Eisenhower will have „bad days“ in the next two years in the field of internal politics, but that in Foreign policy he will insist on the realisation of such a *modus vivendi* as will mean a return to two-party politics. In this framework we may expect a more liberal policy of help to foreign countries and possibly, in the absence of „the Senator from Formosa“, a more elastic attitude towards the problems of the Far East.

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

Two Kinds of Prejudices in Aesthetics and a Subjective Factor

by Oskar DAVIČO

TWO KINDS of prejudices plagued many of our leftist writers linked with the labour movement during the pre-war years, but already after the Revolution and even more so after the Resolution of 1948 it became increasingly clear that certain superstitions as to its aims and nature should be entombed in the foundations of the great citadel of nascent socialist art. At the same time it was also clear that there is no common denominator between the humanist practice of civilization initiated here and now, and the medieval methods that prompted Gojko the Mason to reinforce the foundations of the Skadar Fortress overlooking the Bojana river by immuring the young mother and her baby.¹

I do not mean to say that the liberation of aesthetic prejudice, even if it evolved without bloodshed and human sacrifice, did not require lucid efforts and anti-doctrinaire courage. Because it was necessary to free things that were rendered even more obscure than they actually are precisely by the almost century-old practices in a part of the labour movement and the concepts

created by Stalinist methods, of all carapaces that concealed their real nature, and thus perceive them as they really are. And not stop there but state the clearly defined conclusions, irrespectively of all resistance which could reasonably have been expected, and which eventually appeared.

May I state what I mean?

Why not. Because it is the inherited mistrust of intellectuals as well as the pragmatical deformation of the sense and purpose of art that is in question.

It is true that at the beginning the intellectuals introduced habits and views unusual among the workers, and it is also a fact that by abandoning the middle class from which they mostly stemmed, they did not burn all bridges behind them. But this is no longer the case at present in the parliamentary bourgeois countries nor in those states where the parties are still waging an arduous underground struggle. This is still less true of the socialist countries. The intellectuals no longer accede to the movement for the emancipation of mankind with pre-dimensioned and megalomaniac pretensions,

¹ Motive of an epic folk-song.

nor do they spectacularly abandon it. For the most part the intellectuals throughout the world are conscious of the development of humanity and wish by taking a disciplined part in the struggle to contribute their share to the liberation of all people from backwardness, oppression, exploitation and war. The artists almost without exception want the same. And yet...

It is also a fact, however that since 1934 there is something called socialist realism that has pretences to lay down rigid norms for the creative arts, while ignoring that, subjectively and objectively, a work of art can only be determined a posteriori. This does not mean that I am an advocate of aesthetic agnosticism. On the contrary. As a Marxist I accept all that Marx or Engels or Lenin ever wrote on art. But the references made in their books and treatises to the creative arts do not constitute, as they themselves affirmed, a set of rules which must necessarily be observed when painting, composing or writing, as they neither provide recipes or precepts how to reach the revelation which every great work of art affords, but to provide an analysis of the social conditions under which given achievements appeared and give an indication of the political tasks, — therefore not really creative in the actual sense of the word, — which confronted or could have confronted the party intelligentsia at given junctures.

Nonetheless, of these two kinds of prejudices, the second obviously did not stem accidentally from the capricious taste of the bureaucracy. The roots of so-called socialist realism reach down to the times when the few intellectuals at the disposal of the workers organizations were obliged to satisfy the growing needs of propaganda: to the times when there could not have been any understanding for the specific conditions of artistic creation, nor mercy towards those who were deaf to the political needs of the moment. Many changes have taken place in this respect since then. The everyday needs are no longer exclusively dictated by considerations of momentary expediency, nor are the forces so few. It is therefore not desirable to explain Zhdanovism by the vagaries of the bureaucracy or negative heritage only.

It is strange that in spite of Marx' and Engels' letters to Kugelmann for example or the mother of Karl Kautzky, and notwithstanding Mehring's intelligent books, the Social Democratic part of the party press of Germany and Austria in the nineteenth century frequently preferred wholly worthless authors rather than good or superior works. That was doubtless due to the fact that their criteria were vulgarly utilitarian and their criticism was designed rather to appeal to the low level of education of their readers than to enlighten them. It is surprising that the artistic revolutions both in painting and literature were denounced with equal vehemence in the Social Democratic press, as Cezanne was by the bourgeois and clerical critics. Both accused Cezanne and not only him but almost all the better artists of the day, of the same sins — incomprehensibility, madness, anarchist destruction, negation of traditions. It is true that from these arguments the bourgeois drew anti-socialist, while the Social Democrats deduced anti-bourgeois conclusions. Renoir and Manner were for the Social Democrats to have testified the bourgeois

inability to govern, as an expression of its internal decay and decadence.

One may well ask, however, whether the then crucial needs of the day, and the widespread lack of education can explain these essentially anti-socialist, anti-cultural and non-Marxist attitudes. Or should one continue to seek an answer elsewhere to the question wherefrom this repugnance which identified creation almost with decadence? As far as I know Byelinsky was the first to use the term „decadent“ when writing of French literature of his time. Although a non-Marxist, this Hegelian invective of the great Russian literary critic and fighter for social and political progress soon acquired a wide currency with the Social Democrat „Marxist“. It was first adopted by the German press, it was diffused throughout the world and returned to Russia where it was successfully used as a term of obloquy by public prosecutors of the cast of Vishinsky and aesthetes of the Zhdanovist stamp.

Why?

To want something new in art, not to be satisfied by the repetition of Pushkin's iambic verse or Nyekrassov's motives, meant already around 1936 that one was not only decadent but also anti-socialist and an enemy of the state. It was in vain that the innovators in literature and creative artists endeavoured to prove that the repetition of the great works of art leads into the quagmire of parrotry and genuine decadence. Precisely those who wished to express their time by media and in a way unknown to Pushkin and Nyekrassov were accused of being decadents and imitators. The verdict of decadent and imitator was repeated whenever faced by artistic revelation. The label Westerner was foisted upon every artist who could not find his experience of the revolution in Tolstoy or Gogol for example. Even so Russian, hyper-Russian a writer as Pilnyak was qualified a Westerner, and although he began using a modern form of narrative far ahead of Faulkner and many other western writers — he was told brusquely: „Quit fooling, you smuggled that in from the West“. Or he was obliged to listen to what our „conservative“ critics were telling to some of our young writers a few years ago: „You are heating up stews that are 40 years old“ without even trying to taste at one time the old stews and thus convince their gourmets palates that they were mistaken, as the stew is no longer the same. This is also what young painters are invariably told: „Oh, erough. We known. Picasso“. Contrary to our self-appointed realistic critics, Ivo Andrić who maintains a perspicuous outlook and ponders his conclusions

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carefully stated in his interview granted to the „Student“ review of Beograd last December, that he lived to see two waves of modernism, but that there are hardly any points in common between the former and the present wave that is both creative and constructive and full of understanding for tradition.

This is true because it is logical that a young painter should go his own way starting from Cezanne or Picasso or Klee rather than Tizian od Rubens for example however great they may be and even if Klee, and Cezanne were still comparatively let us say unknown. There are several centuries of the development of sensibility and self-knowledge between Rubens and Picasso, several centuries marked by the quest of new motives and the contemplation of old themes from new angles, and even if Raphael were socially revolutionary and Picasso a reactionary (which is not the case, but let us suppose so for the sake of the hypothesis) I think that even in that case a progressive young artist would profit more by the study of Picasso. His progressiveness and consciousness would protect him from the eventual hypothetically reactionary conclusions imposed by Picasso, but the contemplation of Raphael instead of helping him to arrive at his experience of the world (including also the politically progressive intentions brought about by consciousness) will clogg all pores of sensibility by a dense film. The problem lies in the following: art is not above all classes. Whenever it is genuine art can speak to everyone, and everyone, on whatever rung of time and space could respond to its call. So also the artist while he is a spectator, reader or listener. But when he approaches creative work himself, he will only be able to respond to those achievements which serve him as a springboard for a leap into the new and unknown. No artist ever created anything valuable by turning back a century or two. Such long leaps are exhausting and end in the slow death of the first Marathon runner. Death at the goal is still a result. The snag is that one dies before ever reaching the goal in such cases.

Is this correct? I do not know. Perhaps. I think it is. At least half-true, although uncertain. It is not essential.

Another thing is essential: we have been listening to the contrary so long that it is no wonder that many progressive people have already acquired an instinctive revulsion towards everything on the dangerous subject of art, that has not been twice ascertained as correct that I would not be surprised to hear yet once again the vituperations I have heard on countless occasions against decadence, servile accomodation to alien tastes, against morbidity and similar lapses, incomprehensible gibberish, coded cables to nonsense, petit bourgeois raving, anarchoid deviations and so forth. All these epithets of shame and opprobrium lived a long time in many of us and are still living and active. Lies and stupidity begin to ring like truth if promulgated for decades by mighty propaganda machines.

A case that speaks for itself. And yet...

And yet if judgments were brought, sentences and punishments passed in the name of Zhdanovist aesthetics, and painters forced to paint bad posters and poets to write bad treatises, is this due to the inability to hi-

storically situate and comprehend an evil represented as a blessing? I do not believe that this is so. It is rather an effect of the bureaucratic theory of the state which is mechanically transplanting a physical law that the growth of pressure results in an increase of counter thrust: this is a result of a logically untenable thesis that the strengthening of socialist forces in a country is paralled with the increase of the forces of the enemies of socialism in it thus requiring the forces of the state, namely the party bureaucracy and the planning apparatus which is triving to prescribe norms for everything from shoe-laces to symphonies, from ball bearings to scientific and artistic inspiration, from tractors to kisses, to increase proportionately.

I do not intend to dwell on the pernicious effects of such defective theories which in the drastic Chinese variant became grotesquely deformed and deprived even of that little semblance of common sense (which should not be mistaken for creativeness) that could be found in some theses of the so-called socialist realism.

Errors?

No. It is a system and a consistently implemented system both in bureaucratic theory and practice and which is becoming ever more clearly a schismatic deviation in the workers movement, different than reformism, but fatal and non-Marxist and hence less socialist than some are wont to think. And just as revisionism is not reduced to polemics on incorrectly drawn conclusions, it is not worthwhile arguing with bureaucracy or Zhdanovism on problems of aesthetics. Reformism is a movement arising from the corruption of one part of the workers class, its privileged position acquired in the colonial or industrially highly developed countries: by contrast bureaucracy is a deformation which takes place in countries where the revolutionary assumptions of power was carried out, but where backwardness both industrial and general necessitate prolonged efforts and sacrifices. The adverse international situation, which prompts these countries to adopt the road to a faster industrialization than normal, drive theoretical thought and especially practice to the abandonment of the essential humanistic and freedom loving messages of Marxism and socialism, thus distorting it into exactly the opposite of the great science of humanism.

Does this imply that I am seeking to justify bureaucracy, Zhdanovism and Stalinist anti-aesthetics?

There can be no justification.

Neither was Yugoslavia an industrialized country. Here also the percentage of illiteracy was alarming. We were likewise forced to build the base and military industries. We were also isolated and threatened.

But the League of Communists did not for a moment swerve from the living non-doctrinaire and creative Marxism. Here also is the answer to the question asked. It is not in the nature of the workers movement to be intolerant of progress, innovations even in the domain of art. This is in the nature of opportunism, both that of the reformists, the German and Austrian Social Democrats and the Zhdanovist bureaucrats alike. Opportunism deforms the creative force of Marxism into doctrine, creative talent into rituals. This is why we have fear of intellectuals instead of understanding the need of inventiveness. Hence instead of the love of art, we have

the pragmatic subordination of everything to direct political gains. Instead of broad vistas and horizons that exalt, a narrow practicoist unattractive view through a peephole pierced in a ha'penny coin is all that is offered.

But the League of Communists was strong enough to realize this. Therefore it had to declare war on clichés, and fight for facts and for truth.

From the moment it was realized that the administrative management of the economy is obstructing the creative forces and reducing the effects of labour instead of raising them, we switched to forms which reduce production costs and yield better results. In the same way, when it was revealed that the norms of Zhdanovism are fettering the creative forces of the artists, Kardelj already formulated the freedom-loving policy of the party in art at the III Congress of the Communist League of Serbia, which determined and developed in the Programme of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia although using less flowery language than Mao, did not remain on paper but contributed to a flourishing of Yugoslav art. This is a creative application of the Marxist method, namely to understand a fact and not seek to adjust it to dogmatic stagnation. When this was done, as might have been expected creative freedom was

not abused, by artists for purposes alien to art. This is yet another argument in favour of the policy of the Yugoslav League of Communists — this flowering of creative art and the ever greater number of works, formerly unimaginable. These are all positive facts which deserve to be mentioned. With the advent of new artists, notwithstanding the growth of elements of self-preservation of criticism, there must necessarily be less dissatisfaction with the existing conditions, less corrosive acid, less obsession with realist criticism of socialism on behalf of nylasi, this being an almost universal phenomenon in all socialist countries at a time when a brief thaw was registered on the eve of and immediately after the XX Congress.

The artists occupied by the problems of art have no more urgent worries than their artistic preoccupations. Does the depolitization of art follow as an inevitable consequence? Who says so? Depolitization in its initial transmission does not mean actual political indifference. The substance and forms of all our artistically greatest achievements bear an unequivocal historical and geographical imprint. They could only have appeared in the climate of our human, friendly socialist freedom. In this Yugoslavia.

Official Statements

The Yugoslav Attitude to...

The official spokesman of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs held press conferences on October 31st, November 7th and 14th with the Yugoslav and foreign newsmen on which he stated the attitudes of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on various problems referred to at the conference.

October 31st

NUCLEAR TEST BAN: „It is known that Yugoslavia is urging the immediate, universal and lasting cessation of nuclear test explosions. We consider it both possible and indispensable to reach at least an initial and partial agreement which could provide a basis for further negotiations.

ARREST OF YUGOSLAV SEAMEN IN CHINA: „The arrest, trial and sentence of the Yugoslav seamen in China is a political action directed against Yugoslavia and constitutes yet another new method in the anti-Yugoslav campaign of which these Yugoslav sailors are the victims. The entire case was trumped up in order to fabricate the „facts“ for the campaign against Yugoslavia. It is particularly regrettable that the judiciary has been abused for such an unjust and inhuman purpose. The Yugoslav Government will take resolute steps for the protection of its citizens.”

THE ANTI-YUGOSLAV CAMPAIGN: „The joint declaration of the party and state delegations of Czechoslovakia and the Peoples Republic of Roumania marks the continuance within the framework of the anti-Yugoslav campaign, of the practice to use the joint declarations during the visits of the party and state delegations of the countries belonging to the „socialist camp“ for unprincipled attacks on Yugoslavia.

YUGOSLAVIA AND THE GAIT: „At The XIII session of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade the Yugo-

slav Government intends to raise the question of closer co-operation with this organization in the capacity of associate member.

November 7th

ABUSE OF CELEBRATIONS: The official spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs was asked to comment the fact that because of attacks on Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav League of Communists the Yugoslav Ambassador in Sofija, Envoy to East Germany and Chargé d'Affaires in Tirana walked out of the solemn academies organized in honour of the 41st anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The official spokesman replied: „Contrary to the international code of behaviour and international practice, celebrations to which the official representatives of states are invited, are used to attack a country. It is truly regrettable that even the celebrations of the Great October Revolution should be abused for anti-Yugoslav outbursts.

BREACH OF STATE TREATY: We regret that the negative answer of the Austrian Government and failure to take in account the facts stated in our first Note should darken the prospects of Yugoslav—Austrian relations. The Yugoslav Government was always ready to approach the negotiated settlement of all outstanding problems between the two countries, convinced that such an atmosphere will be thus created in which it will be possible to develop constructive co-operation required between two neighbouring

people who have no reason to be antagonistic. The Yugoslav Government still continues to consider the Writ of the provincial government of Carinthia of September 22nd 1958 on the organization of schools in Carinthia and the state thus created are a violation of Art. 7 of the State Treaty while at the same time impairing the development of Yugoslav-Austrian relations.

In its Note the Yugoslav Government stated in detail the reasons for its concern owing to the existing situation.

TRADE TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA: „Talks are under way to set the date of talks for the drawing up of commodity lists for 1959 with the Soviet Union and other East European countries, so that the talks will most probably take place in November or the beginning of December.“

November 14th

SPEECHES OF GOMULKA AND KHRUSHCHEV IN MOSCOW: „We have always stressed that in our relations with all countries, ideological differences should not be an obstacle to the existence and development of normal and friendly relations between states. However the present anti-Yugoslav campaign in the countries of the socialist camp, by its vocabulary and methods, directed against the foreign and internal policy of Yugoslavia, in some countries even against the Yugoslav territorial integrity, does not have the least semblance of an ideological discussion. The statements of Gomulka and Khrushchev, in spite of the wishes expressed for good inter-state relations essentially constitute a contribution and incentive to such a campaign, which is not surprising, as it is already a long standing practice that the official visits of party and state functionaries delegations of the countries belonging to the socialist camp be used for anti-Yugoslav attacks. We welcome the development and strengthening of Soviet-Polish friendship. It is abnormal and unacceptable however that it should be built on the basis of attacks against a third country.“

Meetings and Talks

U. A. R. JOURNALISTS' DELEGATION IN BEOGRAD. — A delegation of journalists of the United Arab Republic arrived in Beograd from Cairo on November 1st stopping in Yugoslavia until November 14th as guests of Federation of Yugoslav Journalists. The delegation, composed of eight distinguished journalists from leading newspapers and magazines, was led by Abdel Aziz Sadek, Chief Editor of „Al Tahir“.

PROMINENT JAPANESE SCIENTIST VISITS YUGOSLAVIA. — The noted Japanese scientist and authority on rockets, Hideo Itokawa, professor at the University of Tokyo and Chairman of the Japanese National Commission for the International Geophysical Year, has been stopping in Yugoslavia as guest of the Astronautical Society of the Aeronautical Federation of Yugoslavia. On November 3rd he gave a lecture on „The Experiences with the Post-war Japanese Sounding Rockets“, at the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics in Beograd.

DELEGATION OF GDYNIA IN BEOGRAD. — A delegation of the Polish town of Gdynia is visiting Yugoslavia, being made up of two Vice Presidents of the Municipality of Gdynia, Sigmund Mrockiewicz and Tadeusz Matolepsz, and the Secretary of the Tow Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Jan Manowsky. The delegates came to Beograd after visiting Rijeka. In the Yugoslav capital the dele-

gates conducted conversations with the representatives of the People's Committee of the Commune of Beograd, including the President of the Commune, Djurica Jojkić.

DELEGATES OF ITALIAN WOOD WORKERS' AND CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' UNION IN BEOGRAD. — A delegation of the Union of Wood Workers and Construction Workers of Italy arrived in Beograd on November 5th as guests of the Union of Construction Workers of Yugoslavia. The delegation, which included Elie Cappodoglio, Secretari General, and Claudio Chianca, Secretary for the Province of Rome, stopped in Yugoslavia until November 12th.

Talks and Agreements

CONGRESS OF THE UNION OF INTERNATIONAL FAIRS ADMITS NOVI SAD FAIR TO ITS MEMBERSHIP. — The Yugoslav Federal Executive Council had recognized an all-Yugoslavia function to the Novi Sad Agricultural Fair. This was followed by this Fair's admission to membership of the Union of International Fairs, which move affirmed it also on a world scale; this constitutes a quite deserved honour for this Novi Sad institution, whose origin dates already from 1923. It is planned to enlarge the grounds of the Novi Sad Agricultural Fair up to 360,000 square metres, which will provide space for a considerably increased display.

A YUGOSLAVIA-POLAND PROTOCOL ON CO-OPERATION IN HEALTH PROTECTION. — A Protocol on Yugoslav-Polish co-operation in the field of health protection in 1959 was signed in Warsaw on November 10th. Under this new Protocol, co-operation between the two countries in this domain, which had predominantly covered practical health workers before, was extended to scientific health workers as well.

State Counsellor Dr. Vojo Djukanović, Director of the Federal Institute of Public Health, signed the Protocol on behalf of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, and the Assistant Minister of Public Health, Kozhusznik, on behalf of the Polish Government.

Our New Contributors

EZZELDIN FODA: Doctor of Law, professor at the University of Cairo, Legal Adviser to the Arab League, editor of and contributor to a number of foreign-political and juridical reviews in the United Arab Republic; author of a number of studies and treatises on the problems of international law.

OSKAR DAVIČO: One of the most outstanding Yugoslav writers and publicists; the author of several collections of poems and the novels *THE SONG*, *CONCRETE* AND *FIRE-FLIES*, etc. the winner of a number of literary prizes.

LJUBIVOJE AČIMOVIĆ: Lawyer, Associated of the Institute for international Economy and Policy. Before joining in the Institute he was active in the Central Community of People's Youth and in the Legal Council of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. Journalist

Chronology of Political Events

- November 1st* — The member of the Federal Executive Council and Secretary for Labour, Moma Marković, held a press conference at which he elaborated on the Draft Law of Disability Insurance and certain other principled innovations which are incorporated in this Draft Law.
- November 2nd* — A gala celebration was held in Titov Veles to mark the Centenary of the local secondary school. Speaking at a solemn meeting during the event, Lazar Koliševski, President of the People's Assembly of Macedonia, pointed out that the people of Macedonia already have definitively concluded in history its struggle for its national existence and that there was no need to vindicate the Macedonian nation.
- November 3rd* — The Second Plenum of the Republican Main Committee of the Federation of Veterans of the People's Liberation War of Serbia was held. It was emphasized at the Plenum that all social organizations should participate in the promotion of socialist patriotism. It was specially recommended to all political and social organizations in the Republic to take part in the preparations to celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which celebration should assume an all-nation character.
- November 5th* — On the occasion of the 15th Anniversary of the establishment of Tanjug (New Yugoslavia) News Agency, the President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito addressed a message to the Agency's staff citing that Tanjug was providing truthful and timely information to the Yugoslav and international public concerning the activity and results marked in practically all fields of socialist Yugoslavia's life.
- November 5th* — The Managing Board of the Federal Chamber of Industry held a meeting at which it was proposed to establish associations between the food industry and agriculture.
- November 5th* — The Federal Executive Council met in session, the Federal Economic Plan for 1959 and amendments and supplements to the Fundamental Law Relating to Transgressions being adopted.
- November 6th* — The Yugoslav press carried the Note of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia lodging a protest with the Chinese Government in connection with the arrest and conviction of Yugoslav seamen. The Note was handed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China on November 3rd.
- November 6th* — The First Congress of Physical Culture opened in the Grand Hall of Trade Unions House in Beograd. The President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito acted as patron of this so far the largest assembly of sport workers in Yugoslavia, which had been called by 48 social organizations. The Congress was attended by about 2,000 delegates, and the guests included the

Vice Presidents of the Federal Executive Council Aleksandar Ranković and Rodoljub Čolaković as well as many other eminent state and political leaders. The Chairman of the Congress, Zoran Polič, who is Vice President of the Federal Committee of the Physical Culture Society „Partizan“, read the message of the President of the Republic to the First Yugoslav Congress of Physical Culture. On behalf of the Federal Executive Council, the Congress was greeted by Vice President Aleksandar Ranković. Slavko Komar acted as Rapporteur General on the tasks and lines of development of physical culture in Yugoslavia. The Congress then continued to work in commissions.

November 7th — Within the proceedings of the Congress of Physical Culture, the Secretary of the Central Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, Miša Pavićević, delivered a speech in which he referred to the 41st Anniversary of the Great October Revolution, emphasizing that, led by the Bolshevik Party and Lenin, it had established the first socialist state in the world, thereby giving a huge impulse to the revolutionary international labour movement and inaugurating the process of socialist transformation of the world. He pointed out that our entire past socialist practice and the efforts for the promotion of democracy and consolidation of the system of workers' self-government, as well as the tenacious striving for internationalist solidarity of workers' and progressive movements, on the basis of complete equality, and also our striving for the preservation of peace and the victory of the principle of active co-existence, constitute Yugoslavia's contribution to the ideas of the Great October and our contribution to the victory of a socialist transformation of the world. During discussion at the Congress, a large number of delegates espoused the introduction of social management of the physical-culture facilities and physical-culture institutions.

November 7th — At his regular press conference, the representative of the State Secretariat of Foreign Affairs stated that it was very deplorable that even the celebration of the Great October Revolution was abused to make outburst against socialist Yugoslavia. He stressed that the latest denunciations by Albanian leaders have exceeded both in substance and form, everything that has been said thus far in the anti-Yugoslav campaign.

New Current Account

„THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS“ HAS
GOT A NEW CURRENT ACCOUNT AT THE COM-
MUNAL BANK, IT WILL READ IN FUTURE:

101-14

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November 7th — Consultations were held in the Federal Executive Council, under the chairmanship of Moma Marković, Secretary for Labour of the Federal Executive Council, the Republican Secretaries for Labour and the Republican Labour Inspectors discussing current problems of hygienic-technical protection, the status of the labour inspection service and, in this context, the fundamental premises of the project of the new Law of Labour Inspection.

November 8th — Rodoljub Čolaković, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council, spoke during the closing session of the Congress of Physical Culture. He pointed out that school youth should be caused to acquire the habit of physical culture and that the significance of the physical-culture education of the people was not yet sufficiently appreciated. In the closing discussion, Slavko Komar, Chairman of the Physical Culture Commission of the Federal Executive Council also took part. The Congress addressed a letter to President Tito informing him about its work and conveying the greetings of all delegates to the Congress.

November 9th — The 15th Anniversary of formation of the 1st Macedonia-Kosovo Shock Brigade was celebrated in Ohrid. The Order of Hero of the People was conferred on the Brigade by President Tito. At a meeting attended by about 20,000 citizens and ex-combatants, the member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, spoke. He stressed that the times was not far off when the idea that every country should build socialism in accordance with its own conditions will triumph and when the mutual relations of socialist countries will be based on equality. — A Brotherhood and Unity Memorial was unveiled at Belčište, being an area that had witnessed the hard and glorious epic of the People's Liberation Struggle, and an area shared between the Bulgarian and Italian invaders in the last war whose cruel terror, violence, plunder, arson and shootings of the population remain as a painful and irremediable memory in the hearts of the inhabitants not only of Macedonia, but the whole Yugoslavia. President Tito sent a message to the ex-combatants and the people of Macedonia and Kosovo-Metohija conveying his congratulations and the desire that the tragic days may never recur again.

November 11th — The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia addressed a Note to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Germany protesting against the anti-Yugoslav attack by Otto Grotewohl. Premier Grotewohl's denunciations and similar outbursts, the Note stressed, are absolutely incompatible with the professed desire of the Democratic Republic of Germany to maintain and promote sound interstate relations with Yugoslavia.

November 12th — The Legation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Tirana addressed a Note of protest to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania in connection with the speeches delivered by the Premier of Albania Mehmed Shehu, the Vice Premier Spiro Koleta and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Labour Party of Albania Enver Hodža. The Yugoslav Note emphasized that in those speeches Yugoslavia had been made a target for insulting and slanderous attacks designed to aggravate to the utmost the relations between the two countries. The Albanian Ministry, of Foreign Affairs declined to accept this Note.

Diplomatic Chronicle

November 4th — The State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Koča Popović, returned to Beograd following his official visit to Great Britain, being accompanied by other members of the Yugoslav delegation.

November 9th — By the Decree of the President of the Republic, Vjekoslav Prpić, former Minister Plenipotentiary at the State Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, was appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Belgium.

November 12th — President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito received the Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Tunisia Ilija Topalovski and the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Morocco Mustafa Vilović, who were stopping in Yugoslavia.

November 12th — The President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito received in a farewell audience the former Canadian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia, George Ignatieff.

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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Get acquainted with Yugoslav Industry



Production and Development of „Sutjeska“ Lesonite Board Factory in Foča

The SUTJESKA fibre board factory was built in 1953.

Production rose steadily from year to year.

Significant results were also accomplished with regard to the improvement of quality. The quality of fibre board produced at present corresponds to international standards and is in no way inferior to similar products by well-known foreign manufacturers.

PROPERTIES OF LESONITE BOARD AND ITS USES

The SUTJESKA factory of „lesonite“ (fibre-board) in Foča is the only factory of its kind in the country. Apart from chipboard, SUTJESKA is also a manufacturer of insulating board.

The technological process is based on most up-to-date Swedish — made equipment, beginning from the cutting machines, the equipment for the cooking and defibering of the pulp, the instruments for the regulation of the density of the pulp, the sorting machines, the appliance for the filtering and dosage of chemicals, the heavy hydraulic press and equipment for heat processing, the drying plant and sawmill, and the cutters for finished board.

The final stage in the production of fibre-board takes place in the hydraulic press under high pressure and temperature, while the final stage of production of insulating board takes place in one of the most up-to-date driers for the continuous drying of board.

The entire process of production is mechanized.

The SUTJESKA Factory is producing two staple items: Lesonite fibre board and lesonite insulating board. Both articles can be produced in a wide range of qualities and colours thus enabling their use for many different purposes.

„Lesonite“ hardboard: This group includes board of 3.5 to 5.0 mm thickness, resistance to pressure of 400–500 kg/cm², absorbency up to 22 per cent and a specific weight of 1000 kg/m³.

Semi-hard board has slightly different properties. — flexibility to breakage of 250–300 kg/cm², a slightly higher absorbency and much lower specific weight.

Extra-hard lesonite board has a high resistance to pressure low absorbency and specific weight of over 100 kg/cm³.

„Lesonite“ insulating board: This article is usually made in thicknesses of 8–200 mm. Standard insulating board has a flexibility ratio of 20–25 kg/cm², absorbency of up to 50 per cent after 24 hours immersion in water, and a specific weight of 250 kg/m³. Such boards have a thermal conducting coefficient of 0.036 to 0.042 cal/h C° thus making them an excellent insulating material.

Insulating „lesonit“ board can be produced with different specific weights. In that case, however, the other properties are also altered.

Decorated and engraved board: by further treatment the lesonite board is improved and finished for various purposes and uses. During the production process already, the board can be engraved, so as to simulate various materials such as leather, or various designs and patterns embossed.

There are many ways of improving fibre-board. It can be enamelled with various lacquers, coated with melanin films, veneered etc. The aim of these processes is to obtain finished products of a pleasing appearance, high gloss, resistance to moisture and temperature, and the weaker bases and acids. Therefore lesonit is often used as an imitation of ceramics, marble and various other building materials.

Insulating lesonit board can also be dyed in various shades of colour, thus greatly improving their appearance and broadening their uses.

Perforated and laminated insulating board is an excellent acoustical material. Apart from this, insulating board is widely used as an interlining for panel board or combined with hardboard.

The uses of lesonite board are many and various. It is an important substitute for timber, plywood and other building materials, in the manufacture of furniture, substitutes for parquet flooring, in the manufacture of car bodies, prefabricated houses, barracks, for plasterboard, in bathrooms instead of ceramic tiles, as simulated marble for table tops, for stands, booths, camping houses and other purposes.

They can also be used as an inter-lining. „Lesonite“ fibre-board and insulating board is easy to use and handle, besides being more stable and resistant to various changes of weather and temperature. It is also more economical than other similar products.

„Lesonite“ board enamelled and similarly prepared is acquiring an ever broader use both at home and abroad.

SIGNIFICANT EXPORTS OF FIBRE BOARD

Although exports were not large during the first two years, the collective nonetheless endeavoured to open up new markets abroad. This was not easy, owing to the keen competition encountered. In spite of this, the SUTJESKA factory managed to acquire a good reputation on these markets and has established good business contacts in many countries. SUTJESKA exported 780,000 dollars worth of lesonite board in 1957 thus becoming a significant Yugoslav exporter enterprise.

SUTJESKA is currently exporting its products to the following countries: Italy, France, Switzerland, West Germany, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Turkey, Cyprus etc.

PRODUCTS OF SUTJESKA FACTORY

For the time being the factory is producing the following assortment: paraffined hard board, non-paraffined hardboard, semi-hard board, simulated leather board, pallette board, impregnated insulating board, white insulating board.

The following articles are produced on a co-production basis: lesonite parquet, composite board, acoustical board.

PRODUCTION PROGRAMME FOR 1959

Apart from the above mentioned products, the factory programme foresees the production of the following new articles in 1959:

Lesonite parquet, extra-hard board, panel board, combined lesonite board, duplex board, triplex board, perforated acoustical board, ribbed acoustical board, enamelled board in various colours, melanin coated board, simulated ceramic tile.

REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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